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ABSTRACT

Mestreechs, the dialect of Dutch spoken in Maastricht, the Netherlands, is analyzed for patterns of phonological duration or quantity. Two forms of prosody, hard (H) and slurred (S), are distinguished and their distribution is examined, making reference to previous research on Dutch phonology and on the realization of prosody in Northern European languages. First, overall patterns in the phonology of Mestreechs are outlined. Consonant and vowel inventories are presented and word types are distinguished, based on the vowel system in stressed syllables. The distribution of prosodies among the word types is then described. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives in one of the categories are discussed in greater detail, and the ways in which words in two related categories vary are examined briefly. Subsequently, prosodic contrasts in a fourth category of words are described. A brief bibliography is included. (MSE)

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A STUDY OF QUANTITY IN MESTREECHS

L. van Buuren*

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1 Introduction

Mestreechs is the dialect spoken in the city of Maastricht. This Roman city, Mosae Traiectum, is the Southernmost city of the Netherlands and the administrative and cultural centre of Dutch Limburg. It is also situated in the area, comprising the Rhineland, Dutch and Belgian Limburg and Luxemburg, known for its tonal accents, the so-called 'Stoszton' and 'Schleifton'. These terms may be translated into English as the Hard Tone and Slurred Tone.

Surprisingly, we found no trace of any tonal accents in the city dialect of Maastricht, although they are very much in evidence in the surrounding area. For various reasons, the pitch element is absent in Mestreechs and all that is left is a contrast in duration or quantity. An example of this is [bAl] — *ball (dance)* versus [bA:l] — *ball (round object)*. Taking our cue from Professor Carnochan's (1951) article on Hausa, it seemed therefore appropriate to call this paper A Study of Quantity in Mestreechs. Perhaps it may contribute a little to our

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understanding of phonetic and phonological processes, as the work of the Prosodic School has done to such a considerable extent.

Since it is not very appropriate to speak of hard and slurred 'tones' in Mestreechs, I propose to use less phonetically specific terms, viz. H prosody and S prosody. In phonological transcription, H will be shown by an acute accent, thus bʌ́l— *dance*, and S will be shown by a tilde, thus bʌ̃l — *round object*.

The distinction between these two prosodies seems to have arisen over a thousand years ago. Indeed, it is quite possible that it was originally in the first place a quantitative distinction, and that the associated pitch distinction never struck root in Maastricht. However, the more likely explanation is that the melodic distinction has gradually disappeared from the rather 'refined' city dialect under the influence, since the 17th century, of 'Hollands', i.e. the dialect of the province of Holland which was later to provide the foundation for Standard Dutch. In this respect, Maastricht Limburg is comparable with Edinburgh Scots, which has also been under greater influence from the prestige form of the language than the surrounding dialects. All one can say now is that the melodic feature has been absent for as long as anyone can remember. Houben's (1905) grammar of Mestreechs mentions only quantitative contrasts and says nothing about any tonal differences.

The reader may wonder why we did not concentrate on one of the surrounding dialects. After all, length differences in the order of, say, one-tenth or one-twelfth of a second are much more difficult to perceive and to study for an outsider than pitch differences. Indeed, for a time, we found ourselves almost completely unable to hear any of the H/S contrasts at all, which our native informants insisted they were making, and we sometimes felt like throwing in the towel. But there is such a thing as professional pride and one does not like to be defeated by statements like "We will not indicate the difference between the hard and slurred tones as it would merely clutter up the texts. The Maastricht speaker will get the word right automatically, and the non-Limburger is bound to get it wrong whatever he does."

(Dumoulin and Coumans, 1986, p.68).

More seriously, though, the fact remains that Mestreechs is a fully-fledged language which is *learnt* from the cradle by native speakers. As a linguist one would like to find out how it is patterned in the native speaker's mind, and one does not walk away from it because one thinks it is unreasonably subtle or impure. Finally, Mestreechs has sufficient prestige nowadays to be taught at the local 'Volksuniversiteit', mainly to new residents who wish to integrate properly with the local population. One day, we would indeed like to produce a description of the phonetics of Mestreechs for those wishing to learn the dialect. But then we do have to sort out, first of all, how the H and S prosodies are realised and distributed in the language.

A great deal has been written in German and Dutch on the 'Rheinländische Stosztöne und Schleiftöne', mostly from a historical perspective. The phenomenon is of course quite interesting. The only parallel in the Germanic languages is in Norwegian and Swedish, which exhibit tonal contrasts of the type Aksəl — *axle* versus Aksəl — shoulder, and in Danish, which exhibits voice quality contrast in [hɔn] — *she* versus [hɔʔn ʔ] — *dog*. .

The major authority on the subject is undoubtedly Theodor Frings. Two of his publications, Frings (1913) and Frings (1916) seem quite representative of the literature as a whole.

Frings (1913) is perhaps the more interesting of the two, as it is basically concerned with stating the realisation and, in diachronic terms, the distribution of H and S in his own dialect of Dülken, a small German town about 15 kilometres from the Dutch border.

The 1916 publication, entitled *Die rheinische Accentuierung*, casts its net much wider, surveying in detail the state of research in the whole of the H/S area, and speculating at considerable length on the nature and causes of the phenomenon.

Although Frings actually did a little research in Panconcelli-Calzia's phonetics laboratory in Marburg in 1908, his phonetic ob-

servations are extremely poor. The two examples discussed at some length are stĭf — *stiff (neutral)* and stīf — *stiff (feminine)*. From a kymogram in Frings (1913) it appears that the S form has a total duration of approximately 150 centiseconds and the H form only half of that, about 75 centiseconds. All four elements [s. t. i. f] are longer in the S form, but especially the vowel. Although we have heard quite considerable 'lengthenings' of this kind ourselves, one suspects that Frings may have exaggerated the difference a little when he made the kymograms. One of these days we shall have to pay a visit to Dülken to find out for ourselves.

Nevertheless, the length feature is undoubtedly the most striking and most constant feature. It seems to us that this is indeed also reflected in the terms Stosston (not used by Frings) and Schleifton. Oddly enough, this quantitative distinction is subsequently virtually ignored, not only by Frings but by most of his successors as well.

The second most noticeable feature, pitch, also receives the most cavalier treatment in the literature. In the varieties where a pitch difference occurs the difference between H and S is as clear as the tonal contrast in Swedish and Norwegian, at least when the words are said in isolation. Yet, apart from mentioning it, nobody ever seems to have made any attempt to actually describe the pitch movements. As it happens, Frings and his successors concentrate almost exclusively on a third and notoriously dubious and elusive feature, viz. that of stress or force. This is regarded as the primary phenomenon, and it is therefore hardly surprising, in our view, that it leads to the most complicated and esoteric theories about 'accents' with one peak ('eingipflig'), two peaks ('zweigipflig'), which may be checked ('stark geschnitten') or unchecked ('schwach geschnitten'), and so on.

In Mestreechs, the phonetic realisation is quite straightforward albeit extremely subtle. It is simply that the S variants are minimally longer in their vowel and following homo-syllabic consonant (if any) than the H equivalent. Moreover, the difference is not made in unstressed positions in the sentence. Also, with a few vowels, noticeably ɛɪ, œɪ, ɔʊ the realisation is more diphthongal if the prosody

is H and more monophthongal if it is S.

A phonetic re-investigation of some of the data presented by Frings and others certainly seems to be called for if we want to gain more insight into the origin and development of tonal distinctions in these dialects and in language in general. I would suggest that the role of timing or quantity has been crucial.

Although Frings and others do not say so in so many words, it appears from their examples that the H/S opposition operates only in syllables having primary and secondary word-stress, and certainly not in syllables containing /ə/. In effect this means that the vast majority of words have only one H or S. Only longer words like kɔmpləmɪnt *compliment* may in principle have two. In Mestreechs, even such words tend to have only one prosody, located on the syllable with the primary stress. Only in compounds like nɒɒdəmídəɣ — *afternoon* can there be two. The prosody is therefore developing into a prosody of morphemes, perhaps of words, rather than syllables.

The standard theory regarding the origin of the H/S distinction, again according to Frings, may be summarised as folllows.

At some unspecified time, perhaps around the fifth or sixth century, all or most long, non-final syllables were 'hardened' or 'sharpened' if followed by voicing. It seems that this hardening or sharpening ('Schärfung') means essentially 'shortening'. Frings does not quite put it this way: his formulation is in terms of sharpening of non-short vowels followed by a voiced consonant plus vowel and of short vowels before nasals and liquids followed by the same. Some hypothetical examples to make this clear: *stīvə > *stívə — *stiff*, *bēɪnə > *béɪnə — *bones, legs*, *lȳzə > *lýzə — *lice*, *stērvə > *stérvə — *starve, die*, *vrōʊə > *vróʊə — *woman*, *hʌ̄ndə > *hʌ́ndə — *hands*. Note that H is marked. All words that did not develop H kept S, i.e. all words with short vowel in open syllable such as *mʌ̄nə — *men*, with intervening voiceless consonant such as *wēɪtə — *to know*, and all words ending in a stressed syllable, such as *bēɪn — *bone, leg*.

Up to this point of course, forms with H and S were in complementary distribution, although many nouns and verbs would have S in the singular and H in the plural forms, e.g. *bɛ́ɪn — bɛ́ɪnə — *bone*, *stɛ̄rv–stɛ́rvə — *starve, die*. Others had S throughout, e.g. *mɑ̄n–mɑ́nə — *man*, *wɛ̄ɪt–wɛ́ɪtə — *to know*. But this situation changed drastically when, at a later stage, many vocalic endings were dropped. This led to minimal pairs like Frings' stīf–stif, and it also explains some present-day Mestreechs forms like bɛ̄ɪn–bɛ́ɪn — *bone, bones*, lūz–lœ́ɪz — *louse, lice*.

Subsequently, Frings discusses some later developments which further affected to some extent the distribution of H and S. Unfortunately, however, all this knowledge hardly helps to explain most of the patterns of distribution of the prosodies in present-day Mestreechs.

We have just seen that S is generally regarded as the unmarked prosody and H as the marked one. From a synchronic point of view this certainly seems to be the case in most of the present-day H/S dialects, if only because most words take S. But in Mestreechs H has become the unmarked prosody, and that has created, to use a fashionable idiom, a whole new ball-game. Perhaps we should also hesitate to accept the view that, as Frings says, S was the unmarked prosody in a diachronic sense.

To all other speakers of German and Dutch, words with H sound quite 'normal', whereas words with S sound typically Rhineland or Limburg, because of their unusual stretching and/or sing-song pitch pattern. One would have thought that the S prosody was a development peculiar to this area, and not the H prosody. According to the established theory, however, there was a shortening of H syllables like bɑ́l so that it became just as short as in other types of Dutch or German. But that does not explain at all how S words like bɑ̄l became very much longer than in other dialects. Surely there is still a great deal of explaining to be done by historical linguists.

In any case, H is now the unmarked prosody in Mestreechs. One suspects again that this has come about as a result of 'Hollands'

influence; for one thing, all words that are felt as 'Hollands' or 'unfamiliar' or 'technical' are usually said with an H prosody, which is generally regarded as very close to the 'Hollands' pronunciation. This process has been going on for the last 350 years.

Another consequence of this shift from S to H being the unmarked prosody was a wholesale movement of words with short vowels into the H class and of words with long vowels into the S class. Of course, we were not aware of all this when we first approached the Maastricht dialect, innocently armed with what turned out to be very misleading information. For a time it seemed to us that there were hardly any patterns at all, so that S and H had to be learned with individual lexical items like, say, the tones of tone-languages. The following exposé tries to show that there are patterns; however, not one simple monosystemic one, but a variety of patterns for different areas of the phonology and probably also for different areas of the grammar and lexicon, integrated or not integrated with each other in a number of different ways. To solve the problem, in other words, one needs a polysystemic approach, in the Firthian sense. In the end, however, we must allow for a number of unpredictable 'exceptions' or lexically determined occurrences of H and S. The overall picture, which is still tentative and incomplete, is not as neat and pretty as the book-keeper in us, Firthian or otherwise, would like it to be. But then people do not always behave as book-keepers want them to behave. People tend to be rather messy while at the same time struggling to keep things in some sort of order. One should not be surprised if this human flaw is reflected in the organisation of linguistic patterns.

2 Overall patterns in the phonology of Mestreechs.

2.1

The consonant inventory may be shown as follows:

p	b	f	v	m			w. j. h
t	d	s	z	n	l	r	
k	g	x	ɣ	ŋ			

This is rather like most varieties of Dutch, with, however, some important differences. Most kinds of Dutch have lost /g/. In Mestreechs it has been preserved, to a limited extent, in words such as brég–brégə — bridge(s). Especially in Northern varieties of Dutch the contrast between voiced and voiceless fricatives has almost disappeared, and this tendency is now affecting Southern accents as well. Generally speaking, however, the contrasts are still operative in Mestreechs.

On the other hand, there is one related feature that has affected all Dutch and German dialects, viz. that of word-final devoicing or 'Auslautsverhärtung', whereby word-final /-b. -d. -g. -v. -z. -ɣ / sound like /-p. -t. -k. -f. -s. -x/. However, the distinction is still maintained, more or less, in voiced surroundings. Therefore we shall write kʌ́t–kʌ́tə — *cat, cats*, but bʌ́d–bāadə — *bath, baths*, even though bʌ́d is phonetically [bʌt]. Similarly hḗɪs–hḗɪsə — *hoarse* versus véɪz–véɪzə — *dirty*, even though véɪz is phonetically [véɪs]. It should be kept in mind that H-prosody only developed in voiced surroundings, not before voiceless consonants, so it is important for the statement of H/S occurrence to make this distinction in our transcriptions.

The vowel system in stressed syllables may be set out as follows:

Short				Medium				Long			
A1.	ɐ	ɵ	ɑ	B.	i	y	u	E.	aa	ɐɐ	ɒɒ
A2.	ɪ	ʏ	ɔ	C.	ee	øø	oo				
A3.	ɛ	ʌ		D.	ɛɪ	œɪ	ɔʊ				

To those familiar with the Cardinal Vowel system the symbols employed give a reasonable indication of the phonetic qualities. As a result of 'Umlaut' or i-mutation, Mestreechs has a rather large number of vowels. There are no parallels to the A1 vowels in other

varieties of Dutch.

2.2

Our investigation into the distribution of H and S prosodies was restricted to nouns, verbs and adjectives, and the findings may be briefly summarised before we proceed to a more detailed examination of a selection of these word classes.

2.2.1

In E-words, i.e. those with long vowels in the stressed syllable, the H/S distinction seems to be on the way out. Only one of our spokesmen insisted that he would have H in a Hollands word like stáatə — *(states-general)*. Apart from that there were only one or two dubious cases of H. It was generally agreed that all other E-words took S.

2.2.2

In B, C and D words the H/S distinction is fully operative. We discovered two important patterns which, for want of a better term, will be referred to as the open-syllable rule and the whole-syllable rule.

Open syllable rule. Word medial open syllables like zēekər — *certain*, wɛ̃ɪŋərə — *to refuse*, generally take S. As with other such 'rules' there are a number of exceptions. A word may take H if it is derived from or associated with another word or root with H, as in hóokəŋ — *angular* < hóok — *hook*. A 'Hollands' or unfamiliar word may take H, e.g. œɪjər *udder*. Some small closed classes of 'irregular' nouns, adjectives and verbs follow different rules, e.g. zə vlóoŋə — *they flew*.

Whole syllable rule. All other syllables, i.e. closed medial and closed or open final ones are referred to as 'whole syllables'. These generally take S if they end in a voiceless stop or fricative; otherwise they take H, e.g. sjēep — *ship*, vrɔ́ʊ — *woman*. Again there are the same sort of systematic exceptions and a number of lexical exceptions as well. These patterns have only the most tenuous relation to the diachronic rules given by Frings.

As suggested earlier, there is within each of the B,C and D groupings a small closed class of nouns and adjectives, mostly ending in laterals and nasals, which we may call SHH words. They are not unlike irregular plurals in English, except that the classes are larger. Also these forms appear to be very old and traditional and much closer to Frings' descriptions than most other items. One such adjective is stīv — *stiff*, mentioned by Frings; two others are brūn — *brown* and wīz — *wise*. These adjectives take S predicatively and in the neuter singular, H in all other cases, thus: ə brūn/wīz keēnd, ən brɔ́ʊn/wéɪs vrɔ́ʊ, ənə brɔ́ʊnə/wéɪzə mãan.

In nouns of this type the singular generally takes S and the plural and diminutive H, thus; bēɪn–béɪn–béɪnsjə — *bone, leg*.

For reasons of space we shall discuss in some detail only the C-words and merely indicate where the B-words and D-words differ.

2.2.3

We have just seen that E-words can take only the S prosody. In B, C, and D-words the distribution of the S and H prosodies is determined to a very large extent by the whole-syllable and open-syllable rules and by membership of certain classes of strong (SHH) nouns, verbs and adjectives. In A-words the patterning is completely different.

As a general rule we can say that the opposition between S and H does not operate in A-words: with a few exceptions they all take H, e.g. lʌ́s–lʌ́stə – lé́skə — *burden*. It is however these 'few exceptions'

that demand all our attention. The H/S contrast does not operate if the A-vowel is followed by a 'liquid or nasal', i.e. -l, -r, -m, -n, -ŋ with or without other Cs, and in one or two other cases. As with B, C and D words there are also small classes of SHH nouns and adjectives.

One extra complication is that, historically, an epenthetic or 'svarabhakti' vowel has developed between -l, -r and a following labial or velar consonant, as in vɔ̄ləkvɔ̄ləkə–vɔ̄ləkskə — *folk(s), nation*, wɛ̄rəm–wɛ́rəm–wɛ́rəmkə — *worm*. Essentially, these follow the same pattern as words without svarabhakti, such as hā̀ls–hɛ́ls–hɛ́lskə — *throat*, so it is appropriate to take them together. A further complication is that the native learner has no way of knowing whether a -ə- between l, r and a following labial or velar is indeed historically epenthetic or 'original' as in tɛ̄ləp–tɛ̄ləpə–tɛ̄ləpkə — *tulip*. Therefore we shall treat them all on a par, as indeed the native speaker seems to do, using the term 'svarabhakti' for all such əs.

We shall deal in detail with words having A-vowel plus nasal, only briefly mentioning relevant points in A-words with -l or -r.

3 Words with the C-vowels ee, øø, oo, in detail.

3.1 C-nouns.

So far we have collected only 3 nouns in the SHH class, ending in rd and ŋ: pēerd–péerd–péerdsjə — *horse*, and similarly bēerd — *beard*, wēeŋ — *road*.

Of 41 monosyllabic nouns ending in a voiceless stop (or affricate) 26 take S, e.g. nøøt — *nut*, sjēep — *ship*, kōok — *cook*. This may be regarded as the unmarked category. The other 15 take H, e.g. róot — *soot*, wéek — *wing, sail*, bóok/bøøk — *book(s)*, kóok — *cake, biscuit*. Apart from one or two 'foreign' words, none of these have any distinguishing characteristics so they have to be learned individually.

All five words ending in r + C have the S prosody, e.g. vēers — *verse*. But those ending in r are generally H, e.g. méer — *mum*, døør — *bull*, bróor — *brother*. About one in four, however, are marked, having S, e.g. mēer — *lake*, dø̄ør — *door*, spōor — *track, railway*. This time, the S-prosody must be learnt with the individual words, as they do not seem to form a special class in any other respect.

Of some 40 other monosyllabic words, the majority take H, only 8 taking S. Most of these end in ɣ, the rest in l and n, e.g. trōoɣ — *trough*, zōon — *sun*, spø̄øl — *game*, the latter derived from or associated with the verb spø̄øla — *to play*.

Among C-nouns with non-final stress we collected about 18 examples with closed syllables like wéeldə, 8 of them diminutives of E-nouns like bléedsje < blāad — leaf. All of these take the H-prosody. Only diminutives of C-nouns with S keep the prosody intact, thus mēerke < mēer — *lake*. It seems that non-final closed syllables follow the same pattern as final (closed and open) syllables, i.e. usually S if the syllable ends in a voiceless stop or -rC, and H otherwise, allowing for loanwords, derivations and 'exceptions'. Since the syllables concerned are usually closed, but can be open if word or stem final, we decided to call this the 'whole syllable' rule or pattern.

Among nouns with open non-final syllables we found 28 with S, and 9 with H. Those with S can be said to follow the 'open syllable' pattern. Those with H prosody can generally be 'explained' as being predictable 'derivations' from monosyllables, e.g. spø̄øl > spø̄øliŋ — *rinsing*, wéek > wéeke — *wings, sails*, or loanwords from French or Standard Dutch, such as méetər — *metre*. Two 'unpredictable' cases are wéerəld — *world* and wóokər — *usury*.

3.2 C-verbs, weak.

A typical weak verb is *to rinse*: spø̄øla – spø̄øldə – ɣəspø̄øld, ix spø̄øl – də spø̄øls – her spø̄ølt – ver spø̄øla – ɣer spø̄ølt – zi spø̄øla. Note that the stressed syllable is open only in the infinitive and 1st

and 3rd person plural, but closed in all other forms, including the imperative. We collected 24 such verbs, all with H prosody, and 4 with S prosody. The latter included the 'unpredictable' spø̄ølə — *to play*, but the other three had stems ending in a voiceless stop, such as stōokə — *to stoke*. It seems that here, too, the whole syllable pattern is in operation, being extended also to the open syllable forms.

Some weak verbs, like rēekənə — *to reckon*, zø̄ømərə — *glean ears of wheat*, have of course an open stressed syllable in all their forms. All those encountered so far have an S-prosody throughout, in agreement with the open syllable rule.

3.3 C-verbs, strong.

There are at least three classes of strong verbs with C-vowels in all or some of their forms:

1.	vlée˧ə	vlóo˧	vlóo˧ə	˧əvlōo˧ə	də vlœʏxs	her vlœʏx	*to fly*
	sléetə	slōot	slōotə	˧əslōotə	də slʏ́ts	her slʏ́t	*to close*
2.	sprēekə	sprɒ̄ɒk	sprɒ̄ɒkə	˧əsprōokə	də spríks	her sprík	*to speak*
3.	˧ēevə	˧ɒ̄ɒv	˧ɒ̄ɒvə	˧ə˧ēevə	də ˧ífs	her ˧íf	*to give*

The large majority of these forms have an S. In the present singular 2nd (shown) and 3rd ps. sg. and 2nd ps. pl. many verbs have shortened forms. However, this is probably better regarded as a matter of vowel alternation than as H/S alternation.

All past participles have open syllables and, not surprisingly, all seem to have S, in agreement with the open syllable rule. In classes 2 and 3 all other C-syllables, both open and closed, follow the same pattern. This is the opposite of what we saw in 3.2. Again, it is not 'illogical' that the rule is extended, since closed syllables with C vowels are in such a minority, being virtually restricted to 1st ps. sg. and imperative sg.: (ix) ˧ēev — *(I) give*.

Only in class 1 do we find both H and S prosodies in C-syllables.

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The present tense and infinitive always take H. The preterite takes either H or S, apparently in agreement with the whole syllable rule. So far, we have found no exceptions.

These arrangements, which seem quite chaotic at first sight, are indeed complicated, but not without method. We feel that this kind of patterning gives a good indication of the complexity of linguistic organisation in the human brain, and should be grist to the mill of any Firthian phonologist.

3.4 C-adjectives.

As with nouns, we must again first set apart an SHH class, although I have found only two examples so far, viz. sjēel – sjéel – sjéelə – sjéeldər – sjéelstə — *cross eyed*, and similarly ɣēel — *yellow*. Note that the contrast is also maintained in nominal derivatives: ən sjéel is *a cross-eyed woman* and ə sjēel is *a cross-eyed child*.

The other end-stress adjectives divide on the same lines as nouns. We found 19 examples of H, including other words in -eel, such as orizjinéel — *original*. This group also includes the 'unpredictable' voiceless stop words déep — *deep* and zøøt — *sweet*.

Of the 6 S-words collected, three end in rC and two in voiceless stop or affricate, so these can be regarded as the unmarked cases. In the word kēens — *childish* the S could perhaps be ascribed to the nasal+C ending or otherwise to the association with kēend — *child*.

In adjectives with an open stressed syllable we found 18 instances of S, both in derived and non-derived forms like ōopə — *open*, dēeɣələk — *solid*. Although, by the open syllable rule, one would expect S to be the unmarked possibility in open syllables we found an equal number of H's. These, however, were nearly all loanwords like vróoləx — *jolly* and derived forms like hóokəx — *angular* < hóok — *hook*, ɣóodəx — *good-natured* < ɣóod — *good*, and ɣəvøøləx — *sensitive* < vøølə — *to feel*. The only H form that could not

be accounted for in this way is jøødəx — *youthful*, which we would associate with jãex — *youth*.

3.5 Some notes on words with B-vowels: i, y, u.

The patterning is very similar to that in C-words, and we shall only mention a few characteristic features.

We found the following 7 SHH nouns, ending in -z, -n, and -r, which must be set apart: prĩz – prɛ́ɪzə – prɛ́ɪskə — *prize*, mũz – mœɪz – mœɪskə — *mouse*, lũz – lœɪz – lœɪskə – *louse*, wĩn – wɛ́ɪn – wɛ́ɪnsjə — *wine*, kənĩn – kənɛ́ɪn – kənɛ́ɪnsjə — *rabbit*, mũr – mɛ́r – mɛ́rkə — *wall*, vỹr – vɛ́r – vɛ́rkə – *fire*.

With nouns ending in -r the division is not clear-cut. There were 6 (unmarked?) H-words like múr — *Moor*, úr — *hour*, sjír — *scissors*, and 4 (marked?) S-words: spĩr — *muscle*, zĩr — *bagatelle*, tũr — *tour*, stỹr — *steering-wheel*; also one (unmarked) S-word ending in -rC, viz. tũrt — *tart, cake*.

There is essentially only one class of strong verbs involving B-vowels, thus:

blĩvə	blɛ́ɛv	blɛ́ɛvə	ʒəblɛ̃ɛvə	də blɛ́ɪfs	— *to stay*
krũpə	krõop	krõopə	ʒəkrõopə	də krỸps	— *to crawl*

As can be seen, the past participle has a C-vowel and takes S in agreement with the open syllable rule. The preterite also has a C-vowel and takes S or H according to the whole syllable rule. This is exactly like class 1 of the C-verbs. All other forms with B-vowels take S.

We found 6 SHH adjectives, ending in -v, -z, -d and -n. They are: stĩv — *stiff*, ʒrĩz — grey, wĩz — *wise*, wĩd — *wide*, fĩn — *fine*, brũn — *brown*. They all have D vowels in the H forms, thus: ə brũn/wĩz kɛ̃end ən brɔ́ʊn/wɛ́ɪs vrɔ́ʊ ənə brɔ́ʊnə/wɛ́ɪzə mãan. Words with

similar endings also occur in the H class, e.g. vĭf — *active*, but not, apparently, in the S-class. From a learner's point of view, this would suggest a two-way rather than a three-way division of adjectives with these endings.

3.6 Some notes on words with the D vowels: ɛɪ, œɪ, ɔʊ.

We collected 9 SHH nouns, one ending in -v, three in -ɛɪn and five in -ɔʊm: wɔ̃ʊv – wœ̃ɪv – wœ̃ɪfkə — *wolf*, bɛ̃ɪn – bɛ́ɪn – bɛ́ɪnsjə — *leg*, stɛ̃ɪn – stɛ́ɪn – stɛ́ɪnsjə — *stone*, trɛ̃ɪn – trɛ́ɪns – trɛ́ɪnsjə — *train*, drɔ̃ʊm – drœ̃ɪm – drœ̃ɪmkə — *dream*, bɔ̃ʊm – bœ̃ɪm – bœ̃ɪmkə — *tree*, zɔ̃ʊm – zœ̃ɪm – zœ̃ɪmkə — *seam*, tɔ̃ʊm – tœ̃ɪm – tœ̃ɪmkə — *bridle*, strɔ̃ʊm – strœ̃ɪm – strœ̃ɪmkə — *stream*. The last two now also have the more modern regular plurals tɔ̃ʊmə and strɔ̃ʊmə, which seems to indicate that the SHH class is dwindling.

It appears that we must also recognise an HSH class. This looks like a fairly recent development, perhaps arising from a mixture of older and newer forms. These are the examples found: bəɣɛ́ɪn – bəɣĭnə – bəɣɛ́ɪnsjə — *beguine, lay sister*, rəzɛ́ɪn – rəzĭnə – rəzɛ́ɪnsjə — *raisin*, vɛ́ɪɣ – vĭɣə – vɛ́ɪxskə — *fig*, ɔ́ʊɣ – ɔ̃ʊɣə – œ́ɪxskə — *eye*,

dɔ́ʊm – dʊ̃mə – dœ́ɪmkə — *thumb*, prɔ́ʊm – prʊ̃mə – prœ́ɪmkə — *plum*, dɔ́ʊv – dʊ̃və – dœ́ɪfkə — *dove, pigeon*, drɔ́ʊv – drʊ̃və – drœ́ɪfkə — *grape*. The isolated example péer – pĕerə – péerkə — *pear* which we found among the C-nouns clearly also belongs to this class. It is interesting to see that five out of these nine words are the names of fruits, but that must be a coincidence.

Weak verbs behave according to the whole syllable rule, like their C counterparts, thus: slɛ̃ɪpə – slɛ̃ɪpdə – ɣəslɛ̃ɪp – də slɛ̃ɪps — *to drag*, sjœ́ɪlə – sjœ́ɪldə – ɣəsjœ́ɪld – də sjœ́ɪls — *to shelter*.

Only in verbs with the stem ending in a vowel do we fail to see any pattern so far; cf. vréɨjə – vréɨdə – ɣəvréɨd — *to court*, with H throughout vs. drēɨjə – drēɨdə – ɣədrēɨdə — *to turn*, with S throughout.

We found 8 SHH adjectives in our data, ending in -V, -l, -v and -d: trɔ̃ʊ — *true, faithful*, lœ̃ɨ — *lazy*, vrẽɨ — *free*, stẽɨl — *steep*, vœ̃ɨl — *foul, dirty*, sjẽɨv — *slanted, askew*, dɔ̃ʊv — *deaf*, brẽɨd — *broad*. Some of these contrast with H forms, such as blɔ́ʊ — *blue*, nœ́ɨ — *new*, blɛ́ɨ — *glad*, vɛ́ɨl — *mercenary*.

4 Words with the A-vowels: ɔ, ɵ, ɑ — ɪ, ʏ, ɔ — ɛ, ʌ.

As explained in 2.2.3, the prosodic contrasts operate only in such words if the A-vowel is followed by a 'liquid or nasal', i.e. -l, -r, -m, -n, -ŋ, with or without other Cs, and in one or two other isolated cases. We shall deal in some detail with words having A plus N-set (i.e. a nasal or a consonant cluster containing a nasal) and eclectically with those having -l or -r after the vowel.

4.1 A-stems ending in nasal.

4.1.1

A-nouns with stem ending in -m, -n, -ŋ, take H prosody in virtually all their forms, e.g. zín – zínə – zínəkə — *sentence*, vlʌ́m – vlʌ́mə – vlɛ́mkə — *flame*, trɛ́m — *tram*, zʏ́n — *sin*, zɔ́n — *sun*, tɔ́ŋ — *tongue*, slʌ́ŋ — *snake*. Only two exceptions were found, both belonging to the SHH category: zĩn – zínə – zínəkə — *sense, feeling*, and pĩn – pín – pínəkə — *pin*.

4.1.2

A-adjectives with stem ending in nasal likewise take H in all their forms, e.g. dén – dénə – dénər/déndər – dénstə — *thin*. We found only one exception with SHH, viz. mīn – mín – mínə – mínər – mínstə — *mean, despicable*. This is probably a fairly recent derivation from the adverb mīn — *less, little, minus*. In passing, we may mention that the preposition īn — *in* and the conjunction ēn — *and* both take S as well.

4.1.3

A-verbs with stem ending in a nasal show more complicated patterns. Again, none have S throughout, most have H throughout. This applies to both weak verbs like dʌ́m – dʌ́mdə – ɟədʌ́md – ix dʌ́m – də dʌ́ms — *to play at draughts* and to strong verbs like vríŋə – vrɔ́ŋ– vrɔ́ŋə – ɟəvrɔ́ŋə – ix vríŋ – də vríŋs – *to wring*. But a few strong or irregular verbs show a mixture of S and H forms. These include zīŋə — *to sing*, sprīŋə — *to spring, jump*, brīŋə — *to bring*, hʌ̃ŋə or hāaŋə — *to hang* and vʌ̃ŋə or vāaŋə — *to catch*. The first of these, for instance, is conjugated as follows: zīŋə – zɔ̄ŋ– zɔ̄ŋə — ɟəzɔ̄ŋə, present tense ix zíŋ– də zíŋs – her zíŋk – ver zīŋə – ɟer zíŋk – zə zīŋə, imperative zíŋ – zíŋk. In these words, then, S appears in the infinitive, preterite, past participle and 1, 3, plural present.

Historically, -ŋ in these words derives from -ŋg, which 'explains' at least some of the S forms; cf. bīndə – bɔ̄nd – ɟəbɔ̄ndə – də bīnds — *to bind* in 4.2.3.

Quite unpredictable, however, are the S prosodies on A syllables in kɔ̄ŭmə – kɒ̄ɒm – ɣəkɔ̄ŭmə – ix kɔ́m – də kɤ̄ms – her kɤ̄mp — *to come*, and nɤ̄mə – nɒ̄ɒm – ɣənɔ̄omə – ix nɤ́m – də nɤ́ms – ver nɤ̄mə — *to take*. These must be learnt as 'exceptions' to the general patterns.

4.2 A-stems ending in nasal plus consonant.

4.2.1 A-nouns with stem ending in -NC.

We collected over 80 of these. There are none with svarabhakti as in mə̄ləkˑ — *milk* or wə̄rək — *work*. About 60, all but one or two ending in N+voiceless plosive or fricative, take S in all their forms, e.g. lɑ̄mp – lɑ̄mpə – lə̄mpkə — *lamp*, and similarly pɔ̄mp — *pump*, pɤ̄nt — *point*, prə̄nt — *print*, səmī̄nt — *cement*, vīŋk — *finch*, stɑ̄ŋk — *stink*, sprɤ̄ŋk — *spring, source*, prīns — *prince*, pə̄ns — *belly, tripe*. There are just a few with a (potentially) voiced consonant, e.g. rīnd – rīndər — *cow, cattle*, vərbɔ̄nd – vərbɔ̄ndə — *union, bond*, and, at least for some speakers, spɔ̄nz – spɔ̄nzə rather than spɔ̄ns – spɔ̄nsə — *sponge*.

However, the majority of those with (potentially) voiced consonant after the nasal make up the SHH group. This is not immediately obvious, as word-final b, d, g, v, z, ɣ are pronounced (and often spelled!) like p, t, k, f, s, x, or may have dropped out altogether. But the following dozen nouns ending in -nd seem to show quite clearly that there is such a pattern: tɑ̄nd – tɑ́n – tə́nəkə — *tooth*, hɑ̄nd – hɑn – hə́ndsjə — *hand*, rɑ̄nd – rə́n – rə́ndsjə — *edge*, brɑ̄nd – brə́n – brə́ndsjə — *fire*, lɑ̄nd – lə́n – lə́ndsjə — *land, country*, bɑ̄nd – bə́n – bə́ndsjə — *band, strip*, wɑ̄nd – wə́n – wə́ndsjə — *wall*, strɑ̄nd –

strén/strɑ̃ndə – stréndsjə — *beach*, vərbɑ̃nd – vərbén/vərbɑ̃ndə – vərbéndsjə — *bond, union*, vrɏ̃nd – vrɏ́n – vrɏ́ndsjə — *friend*. Apparently, the pattern is still productive: one informant spoke of the strén of the Costa Brava, although the concept of a beach must be traditionally quite unfamiliar to the citizens of Maastricht.

The d in all these examples is phonetically [t], but phonologically, and one may suggest, psychologically /d/, for various reasons: (i) there are some alternative plurals with d, (ii) there are numerous relations like hɑ̃nd > héndəɣ — *handy*, (iii) the words are members of a different class (SHH) from the t-counterparts, (iv) the orthography, for once, has 'd'.

We have also found a few rather more obscure SHH examples that should perhaps be analysed, analogically for historical reasons, as having -Nb and -Ng. First four examples with a velar ending, traditionally spelled 'rink', 'krink', 'sprunk' and 'gank': rĩŋg – ríŋ- ríŋgskə — *ring*, krĩŋg – kríŋ- kríŋgskə — *circle*, sprɏ̃ŋg – sprɏ́ŋ- sprɏ́ŋgskə — *jump, springing*, ɣɑ̃ŋg – ɣéŋ- ɣéŋgskə — *gait, going*. On the same grounds, one would be inclined to analyse verbs like zĩŋə, discussed in the previous section, as zĩŋgə, were it not for the fact that, as will appear, that creates more problems than it would solve.

The following examples seem to fall between two stools: dĩŋg – dĩŋər – díngskə — *thing*, pɔ̃nd – pɔ̃ndə – pɏ́ndsjə — *pound*, stɑ̃nd – stɑ̃ndə – sténdsjə — *stand, posture*.

Finally, two words (no more, unfortunately), usually spelled 'kamp' and 'kramp', which we would analyse as follows: kɑ̃mb – kém – kémbkə — *comb*, krɑ̃mb – krém – krémbkə — *cramp*. One can offer various arguments against our analysis in terms of 'underlying' /b. d. g/ rather than 'surface' /p. t. k/. For one thing, /g/ has long disappeared from most Netherlandish dialects, and almost from Mestreechs. The point of our argument is, however, that the

division of the nouns concerned into the S and SHH classes is not completely random or lexically determined but is based on some kind of underlying linguistic or psychological 'logic' or regularity.

There remain a very small group of H nouns, viz. ɣ́ŷns – ɣ́ŷnstə — *favour*, wíns – wínstə — *profit*, vʌ́ŋs – vʌ́ŋstə — *catch*, míns – mínsə — *person, people*. The first three are distinguished by having -t- in the plural (which has disappeared from the singular). But this 'rule' is broken by one item, viz. kў̄ns – kў̄nstə — *art, artful tricks*, which has S. Our guess would be that the singular form, meaning 'Art', has become predominant, losing contact, so to speak with the plural t-form. That would suggest that frequency of occurrence and specialised word-meaning can have an impact on phonological organisation as a whole, disturbing otherwise regular patterns. If such processes continue for long enough, phonologically or grammatically determined distributions may ultimately become lexically determined or 'random'.

The míns – mínsə example is historically understandable, deriving from something like *mínsk – mínskə; cf. prīns – prīnsə — *prince*. But the present-day learner of the language has of course no way of knowing that. To him or her it is a lexical exception, which can only survive, i.e. be remembered, again because of the frequency of occurrence.

4.2.2 A-adjectives with stem ending in -NC.

Although there are fewer items, one can observe similar patterns as in the equivalent nouns. However, there is no H class. We found about 20 adjectives taking S in all their forms, all ending in N+voiceless plosive, such as stɔ̄mp – stɔ̄mpə – stɔ̄mpər – stɔ̄mpstə — *blunt*. These are offset by five SHH examples, traditionally spelt 'rond', 'blind', 'gezond', 'kromp', 'jonk', and meaning *round, blind, healthy, crooked, young*, respectively. Again, it seems reasonable to analyse these as ending in -nd, -mb, and -ŋg, thus: rɔ̄nd – rɔ́n – rɔ́nə – rɔ́nər

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– rə̃nstə — *round*, krə̃mb – krə́m – krə́mə – krə́mər — krə́mstə — *crooked*, jə̃ŋg – jə́ŋ– jə́ŋə – jə́ŋər – jə́ŋstə — *young*.

4.2.3 A-verbs with stem ending in -NC.

Virtually all verb-stems ending in -NC have S in all their forms, e.g. bīndə – bə̄nd – bə̄ndə – ɣəbə̄ndə – də bīnds — *to bind*, drīŋkə – drə̄ŋk – drə̄ŋkə – ɣədrə̄ŋkə – də drīŋks — *to drink*, stə̃mpə – stə̃mpdə — ɣəstə̃mp – də stə̃mps — *to stamp*. So this time we should be on the look-out for H forms. The only ones found, so far, are in some forms of the irregular verb vīndə – və̄nt – və̄ntə – ɣəvə̄ndə – ix vín – də víns – her vínt – ver vīndə – ɣer vínt – zə vīndə, for which there seems no simple explanation.

One feels inclined to include zīŋgə, sprīŋgə, brīŋgə, hāaŋgə, vāaŋgə in this group, to bring out the similarity between nouns, verbs and adjectives having a voiced consonant after the nasal. However, that would result in more exceptions in the present tense sg. 1,2,3 and pl. 2, ix zíŋ, də víŋs, her híŋk, ɣer bríŋk, etc., taking us from the frying-pan into the fire. It would seem more realistic, if less 'elegant', to analyse these words as zīŋə, sprīŋə, brīŋə, hāaŋə, vāaŋə, and simply list them as exceptions to the rule that A+nasal takes H.

4.3 A-words with medial nasal sets.

4.3.1 A-nouns with medial -NC-.

Having dealt with end-positions of nasal sets after A-vowels, it remains to inspect medial sets. There are two types: -N- as in ý́mər – *bucket*, in which the first syllable may be regarded as open, and -NC- as in sīmpəl — *simple*. We will begin with the latter type, which offer the more complicated picture. Both types may be monomorphemic

or polymorphemic with the morpheme-boundary coming after the nasal or after the C. The vast majority of forms with -NC- take S. Our problem is therefore to find out which take H.

As for nouns, we have seen that most plurals and diminutives with medial nasal sets keep the S of the stem, as in lɑ̃mp – lɑ̃mpə – lɛ̃mpkə — *lamp*. The small number of nouns in the SHH and H classes take H where applicable in such cases, e.g. hɑ̃nd – hɑ́n – hɛ́ndsjə — *hand*, vɑ́ŋs – vɑ́ŋstə – vɛ́ŋskə — *catch*.

Of some 20 monomorphemic nouns with medial -NC- in our data, nearly all take S , e.g. wĩntər — *winter*, stɛ̃mpəl — *stamp*, wĩŋkəl — *shop*, zwĩndəl — *swindle*, vĩnstər — *window*. Again it is the H cases, of which we found three, that must be separately accounted for. One is píŋkər, i.e. a short piece of wood pointed at both ends used in the game of píŋkərə — *tip-cat*. Perhaps the H is meant to be phonaesthetic, i.e. onomatopoeic. The other two examples are rɣ́ndə — *round (of drinks, etc.)*, rɣ́ndɪŋ — *rounding, curvature*. The logic of this would seem to be that the words are related to (the H form of) the SHH adjective rɔ̃nd. So far, no other cases of this kind have turned up, so we can only tentatively suggest a 'rule' like this: nouns take H if they are related to or derived from H or SHH words.

4.3.2 A-adjectives with medial -NC-.

All 'unrelated' monomorphemes found take S, as we would expect by now, e.g. sĩmpəl — *simple*, dɔ̃ŋkəl — *dark*, ɔrdɛ̃ntələk — *decent*. But there are far more such adjectives with a nominal, adjectival or verbal root or connection. Again S may be said to be the unmarked prosody, but quite a few take H for reasons which we have not been able, so far, to work out completely. As with nouns, it seems that H can often be ascribed to an association with another H or SHH word, e.g. mínsələk — *human*, cf. míns — *person, human*, hɛ́ndəɣ — *handy*, hɑ̃nd – hɑ́n – hɛ́nəkə — *hand*. But this does not explain a few remaining cases like ɣɔ́ndəɣ — *thorough*, related to the S-word

ɹɑ̃nd — *ground.*

4.3.3

A-verbs with medial -NC- are rather small in number, being restricted to structures such as kʌ̃ŋkərə — *to grumble*, hĩŋkələ — *to do hopscotch*, ẽnsələ — *to moan, quarrel.* They all take S.

4.3.4 A-words with medial nasal.

As for all open A-syllables, the unmarked prosody is H. Examples, nouns: pɣ́məl — *yokel*, ɣ́mər — *bucket*, kínəs — *acquaintance*, stéŋəl — *stem*, mʌ́ŋəl — *mangle*; verbs: zwéŋələ — *to swingle, turn*, héŋələ — *to angle, fish*; adjectives: zwʌ́ŋər — *pregnant*, íŋəls — *English.*

However, we have found quite a few nouns and associated verbs with S, most of them with medial -ŋ-, but also one or two with medial -m-. They are hɣ̃mə — *shirt, vest*, lɣ̃məl — *lout, loafer*, ĩŋəl – ĩŋəls — *angel(s)* (cf. íŋəls — *English*), hĩŋəl — *fishing rod*, zwĩŋəl — *pump-handle*, slĩŋər — *sling, pendulum*, vĩŋər — *finger*, hɔ̃ŋər — *hunger*, ʌ̃ŋəl — *sting, barb*, and the associated verbs lɣ̃mələ — *to loaf about*, hĩŋələ — *to angle, fish*, slĩŋərə — *to sling, fling, meander,*

vĩŋərə — *to finger*, vərhɔ̃ŋərə — *to starve*.

It is clear that these are of the same type as zĩŋə — *to sing*, sprĩŋə — *to spring, jump*, brĩŋə — *to bring*, hɑ̃ŋə or hɑ̃aŋə — *to hang*, vɑ̃ŋə or vɑ̃aŋə — *to catch*, and nỹmə — *to take*, which we encountered previously. Historically, these words had -ŋg-, if not always -mb-. But it appears again that there is little point in postulating -ŋg-, -mb- on the synchronic level. Indeed, the latter is out of the question as it would seem to obscure the phonetic difference between *hỹmbə — *shirt* and sɔ̃mbər — *sombre*. The -ŋg- sequence could be used without creating any such confusion, but as before we must recognise that such an analysis would only serve to shift the problem. The learner of the language would then have to remember which lexical items take -ŋg-, the only marker of which is indeed the S prosody. He or she might as well remember which items take the S prosody.

4.4 Some notes on A-words with l-sets.

4.4.1 A-words with -l.

The distribution of H and S in these words is of the same complexity as in those with nasals after the vowel. We only note some salient points.

There were 7 SHH nouns in -əl, prəl – prélə – prélkə — *rubbishy thing*, pəl — *vase*, knəl — *bloke*, ləl — *prick, cock*, nəl — *nought, twerp*, kəl — *nonsense*, smə̀l — *(on a) binge* < smélə — *to guzzle*. Interestingly, all these nouns seem to have some negative phonaesthetic quality, rather like the sl- words in English. In a few other cases we have observed that the prosodies S and H may themselves have a phonaesthetic function as well, e.g. in the interjection jə zỹstər — *my foot!*, < the regular zýstər — *sister*.

Of the remaining A+l nouns, 20 take H and 9 SHH. Of the latter, at least four appear to be verbal derivatives like smēl. These are stə̄l — *set*, vərsjə́l — *difference*, vʌ́l — *fall*, rə̄l — *(on the) roll*. However, this may not be a general phenomenon, as we have found at least one such word in the H class, viz. tə́l — *(to lose) count* < tə́lə — *to count*.

Among adjectives ending in -l we found 9 with SHH, such as hēl - hél - hélə — *tough*, and 3 with H, such as stə́l — *quiet*.

All verb forms with stem ending in -l take H.

4.4.2

A-words with stems ending in -l(ə)C, like their counterparts with nasals, mostly take S, e.g. stēlt — *stilt*, zʌ́ləm — *salmon*, vʌ́ls — *false, mean*, hēləpə — *help*. But there are quite a few taking H, mostly, it would seem, as a result of confusing forms with original and epenthetic -ə-, thus ɣəzə́ləɣ — *sociable, pleasant*, zʌ́ləvə — *to anoint*. The H class seems to vary to a considerable extent from speaker to speaker. If a speaker finds a word unfamiliar, technical or modern, he or she is more likely to give it an H prosody, corresponding to the pronunciation in standard Dutch. Examples: ə brútsjə zʌ́ləm — *a salmon sandwich*, fə́ləm — *movie*, vél̄əɣ — *wheel, rim*, wʌ́ləɣ — *distaste*, zʌ́ləv — *ointment*.

Most words with l-sets in medial positions take H, thus zə́ldər — *attic*, hél̄dər — *clear*, bə́ldərə — *to roar*. A number of rather old-fashioned noun forms with svarabhakti take S, e.g. zə̄ləvər — *silver*, sə̄ləvər — *sulphur*, mēləɣər — *marl, lime*.

4.5 Some notes on A-words with r-sets.

4.5.1

With a few minor exceptions, all A-words with stems ending in -r(C) take H. There are no SHH or S classes as with nasals or l-sets. Examples: lɔ́r — *rag, trash*, sjɔ́rs — *bark of tree*, dɔ́r — *barren*, zwʌ́rt — *black*, kírə — *to coo*, kɔ́rtə — *to shorten*. The exceptions are English loans like bɑ̃r — *bar* and onomatopes like blɛ̃rə — *to bleat, bawl*, sjɛ̃rə — *to tear, to tear along*. Words with medial -rC-, like their counterparts with nasal or lateral, take H as a rule, thus: hértəŋ — *duke*, slɔ́rsəŋ — *messy*.

4.5.2

In words with svarabhakti sets in stem-final position the situation is more complex. Out of a total of approximately 30 such nouns in our data, about 10 belong to the SHH class, including all or most of those ending in *-erəm*, *-ərəm* and some ending in *-erəŋ*, viz. ɛ̃rəm – érəm – éramkə — *arm*, dɛ̃rəm – dérəm — *bowel(s)*, vɛ̃rəm – vérəm — *form*, wɛ̃rəm – wérəm — *worm*, stɛ̃rəm – stérəm — *storm*, dwɛ̃rəŋ – dwérəŋ — *dwarf*, bɛ̃rəŋ – bérəŋ — *hill, mountain*, bɛ̃rəm – bérəmə — *verge*, zwɛ̃rəm – zwérəmə — *swarm*, sjɛ̃rəm – sjérəmə — *shield, shade*. These two sub-classes are quite unstable and tend to get mixed up. Also, the unfamiliar words tend to be taken out by less traditional speakers and treated as members of the larger S class. Indeed, nearly all other items in our data take S in singular and plural, e.g. pɑ̃rək — *park*, kɔ̃rək — *church*, slɛ̃rəv — *trunk, nozzle*, dɛ̃rəp — *village*. The only example with H found so far is bʏ́rəx – bʏ́rəxtə — *borough, citadel*.

The three adjectives belonging to the SHH class have similar endings to the equivalent nouns. They are: ērəm — *poor*, wērəm — *warm*, ērəɣ — *bad*. But férəm — *firm, plucky* has H, possible because it is felt as non-native. Most other adjectives ending in -rəC take S, unless derived from H forms, e.g. sjērəp — *sharp*, stērək — *stark, strong*.

With verbs too, the most complex group is that ending in -rəC. The majority of these take S, some H and a few take SHH. The latter group consists of half a dozen strong verbs declined as follows: stērəvə - stórəv - stórəvə - ɣəstōrəvə - də stérəfs — *to die (cf. starve)*. Similarly ērəvə — *to inherit*, zwērəvə — *to wander*, bədērəvə — *to spoil, decay*, vərbērəɣə — *to hide*.

The (unmarked) S class includes for instance wērəkə — *to work*, hĀrəkə — *to rake*, slērəpə — *to slurp*.

Verbs derived from the SHH (as well as H) nouns and adjectives appear to take the H form as their base: stérəmə — *to storm, blow*, vērəmə — *to form*, wérəmə — *to warm*, vərérəmə — *to impoverish*. The verbs sjĀrələ — *to court, potter around*, dwĀrələ — *to flutter, whirl*, kérəmə — *to groan* are perhaps felt as unfamiliar or literary.

The last one in this list, dérəvə — *to dare*, with preterite dɔ́rəv or dérəvdə may be regarded as an irregular verb.

4.5.3

We have not found any verb stems with r-sets in medial positions. In monomorphemic A-nouns with medial r-sets we find similar patterns as in those with l-sets. Those with svarabhakti, some of them indeed alternative forms of the examples given under l-sets, generally take S prosody, e.g. mērəɣəl — *marl, lime*, ōrəɣəl — *organ*, sjērəvəl — *sliver, potsherd*, vērəkə — *pig*.

As always, this tendency may be overruled if a word is unfamiliar or derived. Another interfering factor is that open syllables before -r, although rare, take H, e.g. in hérənsə — *kind of cheese*, héri — *noise, racket*. These various factors or a mixture of them may perhaps partially account for the following unexpected cases: mērət — *market*, bēri — *stretcher*, érəns — *seriousness*, spérəvər — *sparrow-hawk*, hérəfs — *autumn*, bérəɣər — *burgher, citizen*.

In A-nouns with medial r-sets without svarabhakti, H is again the rule, barring derivations, etc., thus: wɔ́rtəl — *root, carrot*, hértəɣ — *duke*, hérsəs — *brain(s)*.

These few adjectives with r-sets in medial position appear to follow the same pattern as equivalent nouns, thus wərəkələk — *real, true*, slɔ́rsəɣ — *messy*, érənstəɣ — *serious*, érəns — *seriousness*.

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